

Sor Juana's Mexico City Musical Coadjutors

JOSÉ DE LOAYSA Y AGURTO
(Flourished at Mexico City 1647–1695)

ISABEL POPE [CONANT] happily discovered among manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (*Manuscritos de América*: 251, Tomo III, 23. Signatura 3048, fols. 176–179) an itemized list of all the musicians hired by Mexico City Cathedral in 1647. Signed May 20 of that year, this list begins with the chapelmaster, L^{do} [licenciado] Luys Coronado, earning a yearly 500 pesos. His deputy L^{do} Melchor de los Reyes earned half that amount. The salaries of the named nineteen choir members ranged from 300 down to 50 pesos annually. The five staff instrumentalists earned 150, 200, or 250 pesos. Joseph de Loaysa comes sixteenth in the list of nineteen cathedral choristers, with an annual salary of 100 pesos. This document, published in *Nuestra Música*, VI/21 (1^{er} Trimestre, 1951), pages 22–23, forces us to place Loaysa y Agurto's birthdate not much later than 1625. At the very least, he was therefore in his mid-sixties when in 1688 Antonio de Salazar replaced him as cathedral chapelmaster.

Sometime between 1647 and 1655 Loaysa took a cut of 10 pesos in his annual pay. For almost a year after Francisco López Capillas became maestro de capilla April 21, 1654, he and his other subordinates who had suffered cuts kept besieging the Mexico City cathedral chapter for salary raises. When on April 30, 1655, Joseph de Loaysa y Agurto added his petition for an annual 30 pesos above the 90 that he had been just previously receiving, the chapter acceded but also announced that henceforth absolutely not a single other musician's request would be entertained, because of "la mucha necesidad de la

fabrica" ("the [cathedral] foundation's severe economic plight").¹

After López Capillas's death January 18, 1674,² the chapter waited several years before naming Loaysa y Agurto maestro de capilla. In 1676 when providing the music for the August 15 villancicos by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648/1651–1695) he remained merely "B.r Ioseph de Agurto, y Loaysa, Maestro de los villancicos de dicha Santa Iglesia."³ The title page of the December 8 villancicos published in 1676 calls him "B.r Ioseph de Agurto, y Loaysa, Maestro Compositor de dicha Santa Iglesia."⁴ This latter rank recurs on the title page of the villancicos for August 15, 1677.⁵ His Assumption set for 1683 denominates him merely "Maestro de dicha Santa Iglesia,"⁶ At last, in the 1685 and 1686

¹ Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, XII (1652–1655), fol. 197^v. Probably he had been a cathedral seise to begin with; he earned less in 1654 than in 1647.

² *Documentos para la Historia de Méjico*, Tomo II (Mexico City: Juan R. Navarro, 1853), p. 154: "Jueves 18 de enero, murió el Lic. D. Francisco López Capilla, maestro de la catedral, en que fué hombre insigne, racionero entero de esta iglesia." See also pp. 70 (September 1668) and 114 (September 1671) in this volume, which contains a modernized transcript of Antonio de Robles's *Diario de Sucesos Notables* [1665–1703].

³ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, II (*Villancicos y letras sacras*), ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (Mexico-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), p. 355.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁵ José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539–1821)* II (Santiago: Impreso en Casa del Autor, 1909), p. 492: "Compuestos en Metro musico, por el B' Ioseph de Agurto, y Loaysa, Maestro Compositor de dicha Santa Iglesia."

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 553–554.



Assumption sets the title pages call him “Maestro de Capilla de dicha Santa Iglesia,”⁷ as does also the title page of the 1688 St. Peter set.⁸ On all three title pages of the latter sets, the order of his *apellidos* is reversed, he becoming now “B. r Joseph de Loaysa, y Agurto.”

Villancicos were so much his forte that he composed the music for no fewer than five of the canonical sets by Sor Juana—those for Assumption in 1676, 1679, 1685, for Conception in 1676, and for St. Peter in 1683.⁹ As if these were insufficient, he composed the music also for the anonymous 1677 and 1686 Assumption villancico-sets which Méndez Plancarte attributes to Sor Juana on internal evidence.¹⁰ Against this impressive record of collaboration with the Tenth Muse, Antonio de Salazar composed the music for one canonical set and six “attributed” sets, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana¹¹ wrote for three canonical and one “attributed,” and Mateo Vallados¹² for one canonical.¹³

Wearied with the eternal problem of choirboys, who in 1681 were being boarded and clothed by Juan Santos, their underpaid teacher for plainsong and polyphony, Loaysa on January 11 applauded the archdeacon’s proposal to reduce their number to no more than twenty—less if possible.¹⁴ Loaysa also

⁷ *Ibid.*, III (1908), 9 and 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁹ *Obras Completas*, ed. Méndez Plancarte, II, 355, 388, 401, 365, 397.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 469, 499.

¹¹ Appointed Puebla Cathedral chapelmaster December 17, 1688, at 600 pesos (*Actas Capitulares*, XVIII [1681–1689], fol. 386^v), he died there September 1, 1705 (*A. C.*, XXI [1703–1711], fol. 118^v). Dallo y Lana’s music is more widely dispersed in Western Hemisphere archives than that of any other Puebla maestro.

¹² A native of Oaxaca (Oaxaca Cathedral, *A. C.*, I [1642–1673], fol. 162^v [March 23, 1668]), Matheo Vallados = Ballados was appointed maestro de capilla there with a 260 peso yearly salary March 23, 1668, “con obligacion de tocar la corneta. componer billansicos en todas las festiuidades que en esta yglesia se acostunbra cantar en el año las missas y los demas... y la de la enseñanza todos los días de canto llano y de organo assi a los niños como a los que necesitaron de aprender dela misma capilla.” On January 8, 1692, the Oaxaca Cathedral chapter raised Vallados’s salary for being chapelmaster to 300 pesos annually.

¹³ See Méndez Plancarte ed. (n. 3 above), II, 427, 479, 485, 489, 494, 512, 517; 408, 413, 419, 506; 431.

¹⁴ Mexico City, *A. C.*, XXI (1680–1683), fols. 38 (December 17, 1680), 54 (January 11, 1681). Juan Suárez de la Cámara was archdeacon.

welcomed in 1684 the easier solution of entrusting the soprano lead henceforth to a castrato, Bernardo Melendes.¹⁵ Spanish castrati were hired at Ferrara and Rome as early as 1556 and 1562.¹⁶ At Seville, the mother cathedral of the Indies, castrati were engaged as early as 1620.¹⁷

After the married Antonio de Salazar became Mexico City cathedral maestro de capilla September 3, 1688, Loaysa y Agurto still continued on the roll of cathedral musicians. On January 7, 1695, he heads the list thus: “B. r Joseph de Loaysa Pres^{bro},”¹⁸ According to the act of September 3, 1688, Loaysa lived at Toluca.¹⁹

Not to be inferred from Agurto’s single villancico in the Jesús Sánchez Garza collection, *Vaya, vaya de cantos de amores (Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, p. 174), transcribed for publication by Stevenson, Agurto’s Latin works transcribed from Mexico City Cathedral *Libro Polifónico IV*, folios 39^v–41, 45^v–47, and 66^v–68 by E. Thomas Stanford in 1967 reveal a consummate contrapuntist. The hymn *Te Joseph celebrent agmina*, two strophes of which initiate the musical supplement to Lincoln B. Spiess and E. Thomas Stanford’s *An Introduction to Certain Mexican Musical Archives* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1969), pp. 99–104, offers a telling example. Strophe 1, a 4, parades a disjunct head motive, alien to any *Liber usualis* chant (d¹-g-d¹-e¹-c¹-b-c¹); this serves as the first melodic incise of the three-in-one canon prescribed for top voice, followed by bottom, then middle voice of the climactic strophe, a 5, apostrophizing the Trinity. The text of the concluding strophe, *Nobis summa Trias parce praecantibus* (“Mighty God, three-in-one, spare us, your suppliants”) aptly inspires a three-in-one musical response.

¹⁵ *A. C.*, XXII (1682 [sic]–1690), fol. 64: “Despues se leyo vna peticion de Bernardo Melendes Musico castrado en que dize ser Musico de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y que pretendia entrar en esta a serlo y para esto se presentaba para ser examinado, y oido a satisfaccion fuesse admitido por vno de los Ministros siruientes en la Musica y se le señalasse salario en que recuieria bien y merced.”

Melendes’s salary was again discussed May 26, 1684 (*ibid.*, fol. 125).

¹⁶ John Rosselli, “The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550–1850.” *Acta Musicologica*, LX/2 (May–August 1988), p. 161.

¹⁷ Simón de la Rosa y López, *Los seis de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de P. Díaz, 1904), p. 137.

¹⁸ *A. C.*, XXIII (1691–1695), fol. 351.

¹⁹ *A. C.*, XXII (1684–1690), fol. 318.



Custodes hominum psallimus Angelos

Joseph de Agurto y Loaysa

A. S. Tenor 2º in diapasón.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 1-4. Includes parts for Tenor II and Tenor IV.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 5-8. Includes parts for Tenor I, Tenor II, Tenor III, Tenor IV, and Bass.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 9-12. Includes parts for Tenor I, Tenor II, Tenor III, Tenor IV, and Bass.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 13-16. Includes parts for Tenor I, Tenor II, Tenor III, Tenor IV, and Bass.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 17-20. Includes parts for Tenor I, Tenor II, Tenor III, Tenor IV, and Bass.

Musical score for Tenor 2, measures 21-24. Includes parts for Tenor I, Tenor II, Tenor III, Tenor IV, and Bass.

ANTONIO DE SALAZAR

(Born 1650, a “resident” of Puebla in 1679; died at Mexico City March 25, 1715)

According to Jesús Estrada, *Música y músicos de la época virreinal* (Mexico City, 1980), 88–101, an instrumentalist named Antonio de Salazar who in November 1672 applied to Mexico City Cathedral authorities for a position as *bajón*-player, was rejected, but may later have won acceptance. If not a mere homonym, this musician—like Francisco López Capillas (*ca.* 1604–1674) and Manuel de Zumaya [Sumaya] (*ca.* 1680–1755), who preceded and followed him in the eventual roles of Mexico City Cathedral *maestro de capilla*—was a native of the viceroyalty.

When filing application June 20, 1679, to compete for the post of Puebla Cathedral chapelmaster left vacant by the death the preceding summer of Juan García de Céspedes [Zéspedes], Antonio de Salazar called himself a “resident of Puebla.”¹ In the interim since García’s death, the acting chapelmaster had been *licenciado* Carlos Valero.² The chapter of June 30, 1679, named Valero, Francisco [de] Vidales (cathedral organist, 1656–1702), and three others a committee to test the candidates. Examine them in every facet of their art, urged the chapter.³ However, Valero protested against the chapter’s allowing two candidates to be examined—Salazar and the *bachiller* Agustín de Leiva—because neither one was in ecclesiastical orders. By disqualifying them he probably hoped for a “no winner” outcome that would leave him acting chapelmaster.

The report, ready for chapter consideration July 11, 1679, covered these points: (1) the motet and villancico the candidates were required to compose while shut up alone and cut off from outside contact, (2) their ability to harmonize at sight a melody picked at random from a polyphonic partbook, (3) their readiness in improvising a counterpoint to a given plainchant, (4) their skill in setting straight a

singer who had strayed from his part.⁴ Among those present at the examination and who confirmed the 29-year-old Antonio de Salazar as justly the winner were two outsiders, the choral-vicars of the Dominican and Augustinian houses in Puebla.

In deeding Salazar the post July 11, 1679, the chapter stipulated that he must give a daily one-hour lesson in *canto de órgano* (polyphonic music), morning or afternoon, to all cathedral music staff. Also, the chapter made him promise that he would deposit in the cathedral archive a copy of each new piece composed by him. (As extra pay for copies of the chanzonetas already written for the preceding December 8, the chapter simultaneously offered him 40 pesos, and for the villancicos adorning the same day 24 pesos.) As a third condition the chapter asked him to guarantee a certain flexibility in accepting any new conditions that the canons in future might wish to impose for the betterment of Puebla Cathedral music.⁵

Fortunately for Puebla, his zeal matched demand. Latin motets⁶ and hymns, Spanish villancicos, and instrumental music showed how versatile he could be. Six of his Latin hymns, one for March 19, two for June 29, one for July 25, and two for August 15, survive in Puebla Cathedral Choirbook v.⁷ His villancico-sets continued delightfully bizarre, with

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 247 (July 11, 1679): “el Motete y Villancico q̄ se les mando hazer e hizieron solos y enserrados en la sala de Cauildo y delo demas que obraron en preçencia de los Musicos señalados tapandoles en vn Libro de Canto de Organo vna Voz p^a que la supliesen, y en otro de Canto llano hechando Contrapunto y haziendo perder vno delos Musicos para Ver si lo metian en el tono que deua.”

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 247^v.

⁶ Having grown lax during García’s term, both singers and instrumentalists resented being forced to learn new Latin motets—preferring a small group of already known motets by Padilla and other earlier maestros. To remedy this, the chapter issued an ultimatum February 20, 1681, threatening with dismissal any musician who demurred at mastering new motets. In part this ultimatum in *A. C.*, xviii (1681–1689), reads: “Que se notifique al Maestro de Capilla que en estas Fiestuidades de los Apostoles varie los Motetes que hubiere de los demas Maestros, o los componga nuebos, sin repetir vno mismo en estas fiestas, y que en las dominicas post Epiphaniam, despues de alzar en la Missa, se canten motetes y si no los hubiere compuestos, los haga de nuebo. Y esto mismo en las demas Dominicas que se ofrecieren Haziendo a todos los Musicos que asistan a esto y a todo lo demas que les ordenan sin replica ni contradiccion alguna y de el que la hubiere, de luego noticia a este Cabildo.”

⁷ Stevenson, “Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Resources,” *Fontes artis musicae*, 1954/2, p. 76.

¹ Puebla Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xvii (1676–1680), fol. 243^v: “Se Vbo por oppuesto a la Plaza de M.^o de Capilla Antt.^o de salazar recidente en esta Ciu^d y lo firmo el s.^o Dean.”

² *Ibid.*, fol. 195 (August 12, 1678).

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 245^v. The chapter also solicited written questions on every phase of theory and practice from the paid cathedral musicians. But the musicians had to swear that they would not allow prejudice or favoritism to sway them in deciding which candidate answered their written questions best.

eight or nine distinct numbers in a set. The four suites published at Puebla (texts only) 1680–1684 with poetry credited to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz contain 33 individual movements, the titles of which range from *foliás*, *jácara*, *calenda*, and *negro*, to *ensaladilla*.⁸

His fluency served him well when the time came for him to compete at Mexico City. The preliminaries to this appointment can be traced back to May 28, 1688, on which date Mexico City Canon José Vidal de Figueroa suggested that the chapter revert to so time-honored a method of choosing the next chapelmaster as a competition publicly announced throughout New Spain.⁹ Wednesday, August 11, was declared the closing date for applications to compete.¹⁰ One week later, 19 chapter members met to decide how the competition should be run.¹¹ The next morning, after the conventional tests in *canto llano y contrapunto*, all five candidates were handed the texts of a Latin motet and of a Spanish villancico—which they were required to set before three the next afternoon. Between Friday afternoon and the next Wednesday, August 25, the voting members of the chapter had heard all the compositions performed and were ready to cast their ballots. The scrutiny gave Salazar eight votes, but his nearest contender only three.¹² His salary, which came up for consideration next, was set at a yearly 500 pesos—exactly the salary with which he had started at Puebla in 1679—but with the added sweetener of 1 real in every peso of the *obenciones*. In addition, the chapter promised him sufficient music paper for all his compositions and, at Canon Lope Cornejo de Contreras's insistence, copying assistance so that "his works can be placed in the archive, as was done at Puebla."¹³

Fortunately for Mexican musical history, Salazar's interest in archives embraced not just his own

⁸Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas*, II, *Villancicos y Letras Sacras*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1952), pp. 262, 266 and 299, 270, 276, 289.

⁹Mexico City Cathedral, *Actas Capitulares*, xxii (1682–1690), fol. 303.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 312.

¹¹*Ibid.*, fol. 313.

¹²*Ibid.*, fol. 315. Girón (first name not given) was his closest contender.

¹³*Ibid.*: "que haga lo que en la Puebla, que ponga en archivo sus obras, y se le de para papel."

but also the works of his predecessors. Already before Friday, September 3, when his appointment was formally read, he had called the chapter's attention to the maltreatment and dispersal of the Mexico City Cathedral musical patrimony. No one knew just where the polyphonic books had fled, some thinking them to be in Toluca at the house of the former maestro Joseph de Agurto y Loaysa, others claiming that Maestro Carrión had them. When the latter surmise proved correct, the whole lot of polyphonic books was found to be in such bad condition that none could be used without costly repairs.¹⁴ These were ordered, after which they were to be placed in a new and separate archive, to which Salazar alone would have the key.

According to Gabriel Saldívar Silva,¹⁵ Salazar's output of masses, motets, hymns, *Te Deums*,¹⁶ and villancicos, exceeds quantitatively that of every other colonial Mexico City maestro de capilla.¹⁷ Two of his villancicos for January 23, 1691 (Feast of St. Ildephonsus), first published in Saldívar's 1934 text, pages 109–108 [sic], 110–111, also enter *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), pages 143–147. Even more intriguing would be his entire villancico-sets for August 15, 1690, June 29, 1691, and June 29, 1692, when Sor Juana provided the poetry.¹⁸ Her 1690 set closes

¹⁴*Ibid.*, fol. 318: "Que se haga diligencia con el M^o Loaisa. Toluca. Y que no pareciendo los Libros Musicos que faltan Se saquen censuras para cobrarlos. Y se nombrase Vn s^{or} Capitulat para que reciba por inuentario. Entro el M^o Carrion. Y dixo que los libros de Canto llano y Canto figurado auian sido a su cargo. Se determino que los libros de Canto llano, los guarde como asta hora. Y que los libros de Canto figurado Los tenga el M^o de Capilla con inuentario, y que se haga vn archivo aparte. de que tendra la llauue. /fol. 318*/ Que los ss^{tes} Jueces Hacedores manden Libres el costo para el adereço de los libros de canturia de organo y Musica figurada y se le encargue al m^o de capilla este adereço. Y que se haga vn armario... y Cajones para papeles sueltos."

¹⁵*Historia de la música en México (Épocas precortesiana y colonial)* (México: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), pp. 108–109.

¹⁶Francisco Sosa, *El Episcopado Mexicano*. 3d ed. (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1962), II, 57, 62, 66, quotes contemporary descriptions of cathedral ceremonies November 13, 1701, and January 29, 1702, that included Salazar's *Te Deums*.

¹⁷Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y Músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico City: Editorial Atlante, 1947), II, 877, repeats this claim.

¹⁸Méndez Plancarte ed. (see n. 8 above), II, 148–163, 330–342, 342–353. José Toribio Medina registered the imprints in *La Imprenta en México (1539–1821)*, III (Santiago [Chile]: Impreso en Casa del Autor, 1908), at pp. 68, 82, and 96 (nos. 1482, 1504,



with an ensalada that incorporates a juguete and a jácara. In the jácara, Salazar cites the well-known folk tune *Yo voy con toda la artillería* to give flavor at the outset.²⁰ For the intermezzo opening the third nocturn of her 1691 set, Salazar assembled no fewer than fifteen instruments. These played short solo passages in the following order: bugle, trumpet, sackbut, cornett, [portative] organ, bassoon, violin, shawm, marine trumpet, bass viol, cittern, vihuela, small rebeck, bandore, and harp.²¹

Although not enough of Salazar's works have yet been scored to validate any critique, the milestones of his Mexico City career can at least be posted. His first five years in the capital saw the installation of a new grand organ, built at Madrid by the famous Jorge de Sesma. To insure scrupulous fulfillment of the contract with the Madrid builder, the Mexico City *chantre* spent several months in Spain (1689–1690) and there engaged Don Tiburcio Sanz de Izaguirre, his brother Félix, and another assistant to accompany the organ to Mexico City.²² This trio arrived at Veracruz in October 1692.²³ Two years

later Don Tiburcio could report to the chapter completion of the organ case, chambers for the pipes, two bellows, an added octave for the *corneta de éco* stop, and the tuning of all pipes a half-step higher than when they had left Spain—because Mexico City pitch was a semitone above homeland pitch. For all these services, 4,000 pesos of a contracted 12,000 were still owing October 1, 1694.²⁴

Before final settlement the chapter insisted, of course, on inspection. The five-member inspecting team consisted of (1) a musically knowledgeable prebendary named Dr. Juan de Narbáez, (2) Joseph [de] Ydiáquez, principal cathedral organist from no later than 1673²⁵ to at least 1699,²⁶ (3) Francisco de Orsuchi[!] an assistant organist and tuner since 1656,²⁷ (4) Diego de León, a cathedral chorister who was a choirboy in 1673,²⁸ (5) Joseph de Espinosa de los Monteros, a cathedral bajonero.²⁹ Orsuchi's

and 1530). According to the title pages, the University of Mexico professor who endowed each of these sets was Simón Esteban Beltrán de Alzate y Esquivel.

¹⁹ Juguetes were as popular in Peru as in Mexico throughout the 1690s. But Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Lima chapelmaster 1676–1728, wrote a letter to a Cuzco colleague (found by Rubén Vargas Ugarte in the Seminario de San Antonio Abad library at Cuzco), warning him to abandon such “jocular music” if he hoped to please an austere archbishop elected in 1703. See Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960), p. 107. When they crept back into favor at Sucre = La Plata c. 1772, juguetes took the form of gay sung playlets (*ibid.*, p. 205).

²⁰ Méndez Plancarte ed., II, 161. Such popular touches came usually at the close of the last nocturn.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 339–340, 516. Andrés Sas offered data on the contemporary use of many of these instruments at Lima in “La vida musical en la Catedral de Lima,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, XVI/81–82 (July–December, 1962), 23–32.

²² Mexico City Cathedral, *A. C.*, xxii (1682–1690), fol. 394 (January 17, 1690). The dean thought Don Tiburcio's prospective wages should be set before his leaving Spain, but Joseph Vidal de Figueroa, cura of the Sagrario, doubted that this could be intelligently done.

²³ For the biography of the tall, blue-eyed ruddy-complected Tiburcio Sanz de Izaguirre (*recte* Izaguerrri), born c. 1655 near Saragossa, Spain, see Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Inquisición 693, fols. 453–479. He fell afoul Holy Office authority at Mexico City when it came out that on July 5, 1694, he bigamously married there a fourteen-year-old orphan, whom he had violated. Sixteen years earlier (fol. 470) he had already married at Málaga a woman still alive in 1695.

²⁴ *A. C.*, xxiii (1691–1695), fol. 331 (October 1, 1694). Desperate for money after his recent bigamous marriage, he said that he needed immediately the 4,000 pesos still owed him by the chapter. Unaware of what was causing his difficulty, the canons heard patiently the memorial of “Tiburcio Saenz de Izaguirre M^{to} de Organista que ha armado el nuevo Organo, que hizo Don Jorge de Sesma en Madrid, Y que acabo el suplicante, Diciendo que se examino el entrego al Sr. Chantre Don Alonso Ramirez difunto para conducirlo a estos Reynos, a donde se le auia entregado de orden de Su Señoria los Sres Dean y Cabildo, con obligacion de hacer la Caxa, segun la traça por precio de quatro mill pesos, y de hacer secretos, y dos fuelles, y afinarlo en el tono que auia venido de España por precio de ocho mill pesos, y que auiendo echado muchas mejoras en dha Caxa... y auer subido dho Organo medio punto por auto de este Ill^{mo} Cabildo, y echado vna octaua en la corneta del eco, reducido las ocho Contras fuera de dho Caxa....” The canons thereupon agreed to pay him the outstanding 4,000 pesos, but after inspection by “los mas científicos.”

²⁵ *A. C.*, xviii (1670–1673), fol. 368 (January 10, 1673). Already a *licenciado* on that date, he won a pay raise from 50 to 100 pesos because he was doing so well.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, xxv (1698–1701), fol. 32^v (January 9, 1699). May 9, 1698, the chapter dispensed him to take hot baths.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii (1656–1660), fol. 116 (December 19, 1656). Hired at 50 pesos to play when the *ayudante* Alonso Fernández could not come, and to tune, Orsuchi still hung on in 1699 (*A. C.*, xxv [1698–1701], fol. 72^v), but had always been a poor player. February 16, 1700, someone proposed diverting 60 pesos of his pay to the up-and-coming teenage organist Juan Téllez Xirón (fol. 154), but the more humane solution of retirement on full pay was accepted.

²⁸ *A. C.*, xviii, fol. 369 (January 13, 1673).

²⁹ *A. C.*, xxiv (1695–1697), fol. 26^v. As *vajonero* he doubtless switched from *bajón* to bass viol and other bass instruments at will.

sealed report of May 17, 1695, asked several searching questions. His queries, those of Dr. Narváez, and the replies of the bigamous organ builder Don Tiburcio throw welcome light on the imported organ, its registration, tone colors, sonorities, and mechanism.³⁰

Having spent so much on the new grand organ, the chapter next grappled with the problem of training organists. After Salazar certified that a choirboy named Cristóbal Antonio de Soña was taking daily lessons from Ydiáquez, the chapter placed the youth on a 20-peso yearly salary to help clothe him. For each daily lesson missed, he was to be fined.³¹ May 25, 1694, the dean recommended that Manuel de Zumaya, another cathedral choirboy, be given 30 pesos for clothing expense and placed on a yearly salary of 50 or 60 pesos while taking daily lessons with Ydiáquez and assisting in cathedral services when required.³² As reasons for this generosity the dean voiced his desire to restrain so musically talented a lad from becoming a friar and the obligation of the cathedral authorities to train suitable candidates for each office. Zumaya proved the happiest possible choice for such generosity when in 1715 he succeeded Salazar as maestro de capilla and in 1711 distinguished himself by composing the earliest North American opera for which the libretto survives, *La Parténope*.³³ Still another youth selected

by the chapter to study organ with Ydiáquez after having shown special talent as a *seise* was Juan Téllez Xirón. On January 5, 1697, this former *seise* was appointed Ydiáquez's *ayudante* at 80 pesos annually on condition that he henceforth come to *coro* properly surpliced and that he continue taking a daily lesson with the now valetudinarian Ydiáquez.³⁴ According to the cathedral act of February 9, 1700, Téllez had by then been settled on as Ydiáquez's successor, showing what fruit the chapter's investment in him had yielded.³⁵

Like Ydiáquez, Salazar took pupils supported by the chapter. José Pérez de Guzmán, an exceptionally gifted ex-choirboy, began private lessons with Salazar on January 10, 1696. The chapter subsidized the lessons and paid the youth at the rate of 50 pesos annually.³⁶ By 1708 Pérez de Guzmán had made sufficient progress to be selected a chapelmaster at Oaxaca.³⁷ Another notable pupil was the *bachiller* Manuel Francisco de Cárdenas, who arrived from Guadalajara July 6, 1700, with a four-month leave to prepare for *sochantre* under Salazar. Possessor of a *muy buena voz*, he was invited to stay in Mexico City permanently, where a decade later the cathedral was paying him 200 pesos annually while he continued to study privately "at Salazar's house."³⁸

On January 10 of the latter year, Salazar petitioned the chapter to excuse him henceforth from teaching the boy choristers in the choir school. "Not all the choristers need know counterpoint," he

³⁰See Stevenson, "Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600-1750," *The Americas, A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History*, xxi/2 (October, 1964), 129-130, for details. Throughout this article, the magazine editor without author's permission changed "shawm" to "shawn."

³¹*A. C.*, xxiii, fol. 132^v (January 9, 1693). Soña was "quinto seise y Infante del Choro, que estaba aprendiendo de organo, y que parece iba aprouechando."

³²*Ibid.*, fol. 297^v: "Leyose la Peticion de dho Manuel de Sumaya En que se despide y pide licencia para salir a aprender organo y pide la ayuda de Costa—El S^r Dean Dijo, que se le den los treynta pesos de ayuda de Costa ordinaria para Vestuario, y que para detenello y que no se vaya a meter frayle, Y yr criando en cada officio personas para qualquier frangente; que se le den cinquenta, sesenta pesos de salario al año para Vestuario Clerical y aprenda a Organista Con el Mro Ydiáquez todos los días y entre en el Choro Con sobrepelliz, y asista al organo siempre que lo tocan su Mro y que le pongan en quadrante y le apunten. los demas Sres que sele de la ayuda de Costa de treinta pesos que le acostumbra—y asi quedo resuelto."

³³Bilingual libretto (Italian by Silvio Stampiglia, Naples, 1699) in Mexican National Library, Rare Books, call-number 17. M4 PAR. Three years earlier Miguel de Rivera printed *El Rodrigo*, the music of which Zumaya composed to celebrate Luis Fernando's birth. See Medina, *op. cit.*, iii (1908), p. 398;

also Juan José Eguia y Eguren, *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, MS B 015. 72 EBU. b, in Mexican National Library, p. 271.

³⁴*A. C.*, xxiv (1695-1697), fol. 197: "Juan Tellez seise del Choro por ayudante de organista con salario de ochenta pesos al año en fabrica, y que entre con sobrepelliz en el Choro, y asista todos los dias en casa de su M^o B^r Ydiáquez a aprender organo."

³⁵*A. C.*, xxv (1698-1701), fol. 150. Ydiáquez had meantime been retired on his full salary of 600 pesos annually (*ibid.*, xxxvi [1741-1744], fol. 35^v, act of January 30, 1742). On February 10, 1742, Téllez Xirón retired on an annual 400 pesos, after 49 consecutive years of cathedral service.

³⁶*A. C.*, xxiv, fol. 110^v; salary mentioned at fol. 197 (January 5, 1697). The three students being taught by Salazar in 1692 are named in *A. C.*, xxiii (1691-1695), at fol. 37^v (January 8, 1692).

³⁷*A. C.*, xxvi (1706-1710), fol. 157^v (February 28, 1708). On the same day, the chapter obligated each of the three cathedral organists—Zumaya, Téllez, and Esquivel—to teach a talented choirboy polyphonic composition so that the stream of new candidates for important positions would not dry up.

³⁸*A. C.*, xxv, fol. 211 (July 6, 1700); xxxvi (1706-1710), fol. 337 (January 10, 1710).



averred. However, "he would be glad to continue teaching counterpoint to any prospective successors who would come to his house." Now sixty, he claimed to be almost blind and in bad health.³⁹ The chapter agreed to free him from his choir school duties but not to allow counterpoint instruction there to lapse. Instead, the canons deputed Zumaya to teach counterpoint in the choir school every Monday and Thursday, "as required by statute."⁴⁰ When Zumaya was selected also to substitute for Salazar in the cathedral, the *bachiller* Francisco de Atienza protested February 11 and June 27, 1710, against allowing anyone so junior to him as Zumaya to conduct, more especially since in 1703 he had already served as Salazar's substitute.⁴¹ What is more Atienza had stood third in the list of cathedral musicians as long ago as 1695.⁴² Still, the majority preferred Zumaya's genius to Atienza's talent and

therefore brushed aside his suggestion on February 11, 1710, that the celebrant be allowed to say who should conduct at each mass. Piqued at not having his way, Atienza departed for Puebla not long thereafter.⁴³

The first chapelmaster in Mexico City cathedral history who was married, Salazar aged *ca.* 65 died intestate at his house on Tacuba street March 25, 1715, leaving as his widow Doña Antonia de Cáceres. In tribute to his genius, he was interred in the cathedral. His prize pupil Zumaya repaid his teacher's faith in him not only by becoming "el gran músico de México," as Jesús Estrada calls him in *Excelsior*, March 23, 1970, page 11A ("Rescate de 300 Años de Música Virreinal"), but also by carrying his mentor's music to Oaxaca where today survive among other works by Antonio de Salazar three vernacular works and two Latin items—*Aves flores luces fuentes*, a Christmas villancico *a 11*, *Toquen toquen a fuego a 4*, and *Viva Pedro Diuino*, a June

³⁹A. C., xxvi, fols. 336^v–337 (January 10, 1710): "Leido un escrito de Antonio de Salazar M^{ro} de capilla de esta S^{ta} Ig^a representando el que se le dispense en lo mandado sobre que asista ala escoleta a la enseñanza el Canto figurado, y contrapunto a todos los Musicos, y a los Niños Ynfantes, y aun a dos Sujetos, para el ministerio de Sochantre, por las razones que espresa en dicho /fol. 337/ escrito su corta salud, y no ser necesario que todos los Cantores ayan de sauer contrapunto para ser diestros, hallarse con sesenta años de edad, y casi siego, y que los sujetos que sele señalasen para que los enseñase para sochantres, seles mande bayan a su Casa, para con mas continuacion enseñarlo, como lo aria tambien a el que se aplicase a aprender el Contrapunto."

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, fol. 337: "Y que por sus ausencias, y enfermedades, asista, como Mro, Dⁿ Manuel de Sumaya Presbytero por su conocida Sufisiencia, y que lo haga en la escoleta todos los lunes, y Juebes del año como esta mandado a la enseñanza del Contrapunto. y haga toda la musica necesaria para el Culto de esta S^{ta} Yg^a y que sele despache titulo con calidad de que no pueda pedir salario ni cosa alguna por rason de esto."

⁴¹*Ibid.*, fol. 376. At their June 27, 1710, meeting three canons did confirm Atienza's claim to have conducted in 1703. Moreover they agreed that no organist can properly conduct from the bench.

⁴²A. C., xxiii (1691–1695), fol. 351. This January 7, 1695, list of 22 cathedral *músicos* begins with the maestro de capilla. Next comes B^r Joseph de Loaysa Pres^{bro} whose musical service dated back to 1647. On April 30, 1655 (A. C., xii, fol. 197^v), he had been raised from 90 to 120 pesos annually, and he had preceded Salazar as chapelmaster. Don Agustín de Leiva Pres^{bro}, third on the 1695 list, had served "more than ten years" March 16, 1684 (A. C., xxii, vols. 37^v–38). On that date the archbishop had recommended that since he was a widower whose wife's death the cura of Zacatecas had certified (fol. 34) he be now permitted to take sacred orders. His voice, that of a *triple fixo*, entitled him to 300 pesos in the archbishop's

opinion (March 16, 1684). Leiva it was who in 1679 had been Salazar's only worthy competitor for the Puebla chapelmaster-ship. After Leiva on the 1695 list comes Don Fran^{co} de Atienza Pineda Pres^{bro}, then B^r Pedro Moreno Pres^{bro}. None of the other 17 musicians on the 1695 roster seems to have been a priest: Diego de León (a cathedral seise January 13, 1673 [xviii, fol. 369]), Francisco Astasio (senior cornettist [xxv, fol. 234]), Pedro de la Cruz (a sackbut player earning an annual 100 pesos, he was given 50 extra in 1677 because "he was poor" [xx, fol. 86]), Joseph de Espinosa de los Monteros (senior cathedral bassist [xxiv, fol. 26^v]), Guillermo de Carvajal, Carlos de Águilar (master of the boys, he taught them plainchant and insured their proper behavior at church functions [xxiii, fol. 351^v]), Nicolás Bernal (admitted as *Ministril de Bajón* June 17, 1681 [xxi, fol. 111]), Dⁿ Gerónimo de Zárate, Dⁿ Juan Masán de Pasi (married bassist given permission to bring his wife from Spain April 1, 1700 [xxv, fol. 171^v]), Tyburcio Vásquez, Bartholomé de Poblete, Manuel Dias, Antonio de Soto, Antonio de Oropesa, Manuel Francisco, Diego Dallo, Miguel de Rosas. In a later hand, the list is augmented, "y los demás ministriles," without naming "the other instrumentalists." The low musician on the totem pole, Miguel de Rosas had gained the certificate of proficiency in plainchant and polyphony that permitted him to enter the cathedral choir as recently as January 8, 1692 (xxiii, fol. 37^v).

⁴³On January 15, 1712, after examination he was appointed maestro de capilla there (Puebla Cathedral, A. C., xxii [1712–1718], fol. 3). He died in March of 1726. J. T. Medina inventoried twelve sets of villancicos for which Atienza composed the music between 1715 and 1722. Copies of the printed texts survived in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana when Medina published *La Imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles* (Santiago: 1908), pp. 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 194, 195, 201, 202 [twice], 206 [twice]. His name on the title pages of these villancicos is always Francisco de Atienza y Pineda *presbítero*.

29 Tone VIII villancico; a Tone VIII Magnificat a 12, and *Joseph fili David*, an accompanied motet a 8 (SATB SATB). In 1966 Guatemala Cathedral still owned Salazar's *Mi Dios si llorais*, a Christmas accompanied duo, *Primores amantes*, a Sacrament accompanied duo, and *Vengan Corriendo*, another Sacrament accompanied duo.

Zumaya and Salazar also cooperated in four extremely beautiful Latin hymns now to be seen in Choirbook v at Mexico City Cathedral, second foliation. Pars I is by Salazar and II by Zumaya at folios 3^v-8 and 12^v-14: Salazar's *partes* being entitled *Egredie Doctor Paule*, *Christe Sanctorum decus*, *Miris modis repente liber*; pars secunda of the hymn at 8^v-10 is also by Salazar, *O Crux ave spes unica*. At the Viceroyal Museum, Tepetzotlán, a second choirbook dated 1717 (copied by Simón Rodríguez de Guzmán) opens with Vespers music by Zumaya but continues at folios 22^v-26 with Salazar's *O sacrum convivium a 8* (Corpus Christi). The untexted bass presumes instrumental accompaniment.

However, Salazar's first pieces published in the United States were the two 1691 villancicos *Oigan un Vejamen a 4* and *Guarda la fiera a 4*, that occupy pages 144-147 in Stevenson's *Music in Mexico A Historical Survey* (New York: Thos. Y. Crowell, 1952). The two were composed for a celebration on January 23, 1691, honoring Ildephonsus, an ecclesiastic of the seventh century who wrote in behalf of

the perpetual virginity. His cult was extremely popular in Mexico. The sense of the first one runs thus:

Estribillo Listen to our taunt hurled at the heretic, Helvidius. May his life be a thousand times embittered. Listen while everyone derides him; listen while the heavens, on the other hand, rejoice at his discomfiture.

Coplas If he thinks we are going to trade insult for insult this time he is mistaken; we are going to hit back three times for his every two times, because we already know he is a blasphemer and a scoundrel.

The sense of the second runs as follows:

Estribillo Take care against the wild beast who stamps the ground on the fertile banks of the Tagus hopping he will consume the flock on the other side. But his evil designs are known, and will be frustrated. Ildephonsus will rescue his favorite flock.

Coplas 1. The lurking figure of Helvidius can be discerned in the darkness of the night. He wants to play the wolf and carry off his victims, but like a booby he gives himself away with his wolf howls.

2. Although the French beast rages at the flock, Ildephonsus, shepherd of the sheep, will whirl around and protect them so that not even the purity of their wool will be soiled.

Villancico (5 voices)
Oigan un vejamen

Estribillo Antonio de Salazar, 1691

Alto
Di - gan, oi - gan un re - ja - men a Hel - vi - dio he - re - je por que

Tenore

le a - mar - que, — mil Sa - les Cie - ne. — Oi - gan - le, oi - gan - le

Oi - gan - le, oi - gan - le, oi - gan - le, oi - gan - le, por - que el mun - do le mo - je! Oi - gan - le

oi - gan - le, por - que el Cie - lo se a - le - gre!
por - que el Cie - lo se a - le - gre!

Cie - lo se a - le - gre! Cie - lo se a - le - gre.
por - que el Cie - lo se a - le - gre se a - le - gre

Coplas
Alto
To - do el co - ra - des - la rez por su ig - na -

Bajo

ran - cia im - por - tu - na, con su rot u - na por u - na le ha de dar a dos

— por tres por Mar - ja - mo por So - ez que sus a - jo -

— dos pre - vie - ne —



Villancico (4 voices)
Guarda la fiera

Estribillo

Antonio de Salazar, 1691

Guarda la fie-ra, guar-da guar-da guar-da
 Guar-da, guar-da guar-da la fie-ra la fie-ra, guar-da guar-da la fie-ra
 guar-da la fie-ra, guar-da la fie-ra que pi-sa del Ta-jo la fér-til ri-
 guar-da la fie-ra guar-da la fie-ra que pi-sa del
 -be-ra, ri-be-ra, ri-be- - - - ra, y los ga-na-dos se dan por per-
 Ta-jo... y los ga-na-dos se dan por per-
 -di - das! Mes ya re sus in-ten-tos fue-ra-dos fue-
 -di - das! Mes ya re sus in-ten-tos fue-ra-dos fue-
 -di - das! Mes ya re sus in-ten-tos fue-ra-dos fue-
 -di - das! Mes ya re sus in-ten-tos fue-ra-dos fue-

-tra ... dos, fue-ra ... dos in-ten-tos fue-ra ... dos por-
 re ...
 que a ti-de-fen-so se ran sus ba-li - dos.
 que a ti-de-fen-so se ran sus ba-li - dos.
 Fin

Coplas

L al a-prim-coa-dor-cho to-bo que de ti-ri-do la fi-gu-ra vi-nco-mo noche ob-
 -seu-ra por-que trae bo-ca de lo-bo aun-que as-tu-to el es un
 bo-bo cuan-de a-ri-sa con aul-li - - - dos.
 26.

3. Let the wild beast who comes raging from abroad deceitfully wrapped in a ewe's skin realize his evil designs are known; he cannot spread his plague in Spanish dominions.

The meaning of these two villancicos seems at first somewhat abstruse, but the political situation in 1691 makes clear their true significance. Helvidius, who lived sometime before 383, is only a straw man set up to be knocked down. Nothing is known of Helvidius's nationality, and there is no reason to believe he was French. But for the purpose of the villancicos at hand, Helvidius had to be a French heretic, and Ildephonsus had to be a Spanish hero protecting the flock against the base intruder. The Tagus river is mentioned because on its banks Ildephonsus set up shop, as it were, while he was writing his theological treatises. Helvidius and Ildephonsus were merely convenient prototypes. Spain and France were at war in 1691, and for propaganda purposes the signatories of the League of Augsburg (to which Charles II adhered) labeled their opponent, Louis XIV as insufficiently firm in the faith. It mattered not for the propaganda purposes in hand that Louis XIV was at the particular moment (1691) thoroughly under the dominance of a Jesuit confessor.

Ironically, *Guarda la fiera* claims primacy as the first of Salazar's villancicos recorded in France, the nation ruled in 1691 by Louis XIV whose religious orthodoxy caused Spanish concern. *Polyphonies espagnoles et américaines de la Renaissance*, the 1986 CD in question (recorded in the Paris Église Notre-Dame du Liban), includes also Salazar's *Tarara tarara qui yo soy Antoniyo*, a "Negro a Duo de Navidad" in the Jesús Sánchez Garza Collection first published in Stevenson's *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (University of California Press, 1974), pp. 160-162.

Salazar's dominion of six-part counterpoint vaunts itself in his virtuosic *Inveni David*, the first responsory, second nocturn, sung January 23, 1703, at the feast of Ildephonsus. Classed as a gradual in the *Liber usualis*, page 1130,⁴⁴ the text in Salazar's setting exploits contrasts between vocal duos and

⁴⁴Classed however as Responsorium 5, Commune Confessoris Pontificis, in the *Liber responsorialis* (1895), pp. 198-199, the text reads (in translation): "I have found David, My servant; with My holy oil I have anointed him. For My hand shall help him. The enemy shall have no advantage over him, nor shall the son of iniquity hurt him. For My hand shall help him."



instrumentally accompanied tutti, *Quis Deus magnus*, the text of which occurs in the *Liber responsorialis pro festis I. Classis et communi sanctorum* (Solesmes: E Typographeo Sancti Petri, 1895), at page 342, inspires a monumental double-choir out-

burst suitably apostrophizing the Deity, whose marvelous works transcend human understanding.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For the facsimile of a receipt signed by "M^o Antonio De Salazar" September 17, 1710, see *Inter-American Music Review*, xiii/1 (Fall-Winter 1992), p. 13.

Inveni David, solo y a 6

Antonio de Salazar

Musical score for the beginning of "Inveni David", featuring parts for Tiple, Alto, Tenor 1 & 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Inveni David, solo y a 6*. The score shows the vocal lines with their respective lyrics and the instrumental accompaniment.

Musical score for the first system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Magnus est dominus, magnus est dominus, magnus est dominus, magnus est dominus, magnus est dominus, magnus est dominus.*

Musical score for the second system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius.*

Musical score for the third system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius.*

Musical score for the fourth system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius.*

Musical score for the fifth system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius.*

Musical score for the sixth system of the double-choir section, featuring parts for Tenor 1, Alto, Tenor 2, and Bajo 1 & 2. The lyrics are: *Et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius, et non est similis eius.*



1. I. A. T. S.

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum

I. A. T. S.

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum

re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum
re - do - mi - si in - te - ri - or - e - rum